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TALKS FROM STRENGTH NO USE AT GENEVA

As stupid as unconditional surrender

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

WHAT has Mr. Harold Macmillan achieved at Geneva? Has it turned out to be a brilliant diplomatic success on his part?

Is he going to be able to say to the House of Commons:

"Our policy of negotiating from a position of strength has now been justified. The Soviet Union has given way on Germany as it did on Austria and the policy of the West has been completely vindicated. Not only is the Soviet Union going to leave Eastern Germany but we are now so strong that the Soviet Union has now realised that it can do nothing else but disarm and surrender unconditionally to the West"?

Mr. Macmillan made a statement before going to Geneva that rather led one to believe that he thought this was what he would be able to say after the latest Geneva conference was over.

For we are now in 1955, and 1954 was the year when we were going to lay down the law to the Russians from a position of strength.

But at Geneva Mr. Molotov did not announce that he was prepared to agree to free elections in Germany, or that the Russian forces were to be withdrawn. On the contrary he restated quite emphatically the Russian position that there would be no reunification of Germany if that meant that the reunited Germany would be in NATO.

Mr. Molotov has not yielded to Mr. Dulles and Mr. Macmillan, and the West has simply not been able to say to the Russians: "Now you get out of Eastern Germany or we shall proceed to bomb you to bits."

Indeed there is not the slightest reason for believing that NATO, as against Russia and her Communist allies, is stronger than it was before our re-armament programme began or after the Paris Treaty was signed.

When we started our rearmament programme in 1951 we did not know that Russia had the H-bomb. Now we know. As a reply to our rearmament policy Russia speeded up her A- and H-bomb research and now all the military authorities agree that the Soviet Union has now enough nuclear weapons if not to annihilate America to obliterate us.

So Mr. Dulles and Mr. Macmillan were not in a position to tell the Russians "Get out of East Germany in a month or we shall use force to compel you."

They did not do so because they realised that Mr. Molotov might have called their bluff.

To this Mr. Macmillan might reply, "Oh, yes, the time is not yet come when we can tell the Russians that they must surrender their position in Europe to a virtual ultimatum from the West; but just wait another five or ten years until West Germany has her army of 500,000 men and then we will be able to tell Mr. Molotov where to get off."

But will we? The last estimate of the military situation published by NATO declared that the Russians had grown stronger not weaker during the last four years.

Even if the 500,000 Germans are all ready by 1960, all that Russia has to do is to cancel the decree which reduced her military forces by over 600,000 men and we will be back again to where we were before.

And we have to remember that one of the results of the West's rearmament drive has been the imposition of conscription in China and that could mean an enormous increase in

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Gravesend avenged!

By 37 votes to 31, London University Union Debating Society defeated a motion "That the pacifist is not a realist."

Opposition to the motion, which was debated on Tuesday, was led by Mr. Emrys Hughes, MP, a member of the Board of Peace News Ltd. The proposer was Mr. Peter Kirk, MP, Conservative candidate who defeated Sir Richard Acland at Gravesend in the General Election.

A report of the debate will appear in Peace News next week.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

"AS OUTMODED AS WAR" — Charlie Chaplin

Peace News Reporter

A TORY MP, **Montgomery Hyde,** was among speakers who on November 10 attacked capital punishment and appealed to the Government to abolish it.

Some 4,000 people in the Central Hall Westminster and Church House, heard **Gerald Gardiner, QC,** demolish the arguments for the death penalty as a deterrent. Among the western democracies only France and Britain retained it. Mussolini reimposed it in Italy because it was "inconsistent with fascist policy not to have the death penalty."

There were more sane murderers during a war because people were taught to kill and weapons were available; yet from 1940-49 of 586 murderers tried, 325 were insane.

"Not being a politician, I've always been free to say what I think," said Mr. Gardiner, to applause, "and I don't think anyone is deterred by capital punishment."

Instead there was one pointless killer who in his past had swept out the death cell and, having never been treated with respect, killed because he noted that the warders and prison governor treated a sentenced murderer with respect.

Frank Byers, admitting that with other Liberals he had not even got the electoral deposit abolished, appealed for money to campaign against the death penalty. £1,081 and two dollars were collected.

Victor Gollancz read a letter from the sister of the murdered Janet Marshall saying the murder "had only confirmed our belief that capital punishment should be abolished. Revenge is not a natural human emotion."

Christopher Hollis said that since 1948 he had become convinced of the dangers of innocent people being hanged.

J. B. Priestley believed that in our herded industrial society capital punishment might increasingly be an encouragement to murder.

Lord Pakenham confessed himself as convinced by the Report of the Royal Commission that capital punishment was no deterrent. "Act as missionaries till this evil is swept away," he said.

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NEW HOPE!

By Tuesday night nearly 200 MPs had put their names to a motion to get a Second Reading for a Bill to end capital punishment.

But the Government will not give time for the Bill except under extreme pressure.

Write to your MP—especially if he is a Tory—and the Prime Minister, now asking for time to be found for the Bill.

The PoW who stayed behind

Towards the end of last year a British Peace News reader visiting China was able to meet and talk with Marine Condron, the one British prisoner of war who elected to remain in North Korea after an armistice had ended the Korean War.

Believing that the testimony of Marine Condron as reported to us was worth following up, Peace News arranged for two British ex-servicemen, who had been prisoners in Korea and had returned home at the time of the general release, to be interviewed on the subject of Marine Condron's statements.

We give below, first the interview with Marine Condron and following this the comments of Mr. Raymond Fysh and Mr. Stanley Seymour, the returned prisoners.

SOME years before the Korean War had broken out Marine Condron had signed on for seven years in the regular army. He had a few more months to serve when a call was made for volunteers.

He volunteered, as he thought it would be interesting to see Korea before he returned to civilian life.

I asked him why he wanted to go and kill Koreans and he replied that he had not thought of killing anyone. He joined up and received some special training, and on the way out on the transport the troops were told what the war was about and what terrible people the Communists were.

When he landed he was convinced that Communists were an international menace and was prepared to shoot any Communist on sight.

After a short time, a number of British soldiers were taken prisoners by the Chinese. Their arms were taken from them and they had to empty their pockets. Mirrors were confiscated but everything else, including cigarette cases, lighters, fountain pens, etc., was returned to them.

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"END CALL-UP" CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH WALES

AS part of an "End Conscription Now" Campaign in South-East Wales a big conference is to be held in the Cory Hall, Cardiff, on November 26 at 3 p.m.

Speakers will be Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Rev. D. R. Thomas, of Merthyr, and Gwynfor Evans. Rev. R. J. Jones will be in the chair.

"There are many reasons for objecting to the conscription of our young men during time of peace," writes the Organising Secretary, Frank Lees, in the call to the conference.

"Some may object on principle, some because of the waste of manpower in an age when large armies seem obsolete and men are needed in industry and the profession, whilst others may show that it is contrary to the will of the Welsh People as expressed by the majority of the Members of Parliament.

"Whatever our reasons may be, let us unite to demand that the government should 'End Conscription Now.'

All interested persons are invited to attend the conference in addition to official delegates.

Posters, leaflets, and tickets may be had from 2 Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

JOSS ON THE PEACE-PATH



"You'll know'em dead-easy as they drop."

C.D. IN N. AMERICA

NO BOMBS HERE, PLEASE

A recent conference at Montebello, on the Ottawa River, discussed the nature and prospect of future wars. No general conclusions on the subject were reached; they could not agree, for instance, that the only possible kind of future wars were "peripheral" (as in Korea) where conventional arms would be used, not atomic ones.

George V. Ferguson of the Montreal Star, who attended, reported this hard-boiled attitude to civil defence in Canada:

"Some light relief was offered, in this grim prospect, by the remark of a Canadian delegate. He said an industrialist, a friend of his, had refused to spend any money on civil defence. Most of his plant buildings, he said, had flat roofs. In their spare time, he got his painters to decorate these roofs with huge white arrows, pointing south. Under the arrows were painted in vast letters, 'New York—375 miles.' That was all he needed to spend, he said, on civil defence."

It turns out that, in view of the experts, there are no H-bomb targets in Canada; and no A-bomb targets. If attacking planes can keep on course, and if guided missiles are sufficiently accurate, the enemy would attack major targets only. These are south of the border.

—From the Vernon (Canada) News. November 3, 1955.

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The greatest freedom of speech is the greatest safety, because if a man is a fool the best thing to do is to encourage the fact by speaking. —WOODROW WILSON.

THE NEED FOR CONTACTS

THE greatest disappointment we have found in the Geneva talks is the inflexibility of Mr. Molotov in regard to the development of contacts — particularly personal contacts—between the peoples of Russia and the West.

There is need for a greatly increased freedom of personal contact between the peoples of the East and West. If a generous agreement on this point could have been reached at Geneva it would have outweighed the failures on the more publicised aspects of the talks, because if—at the next meeting, or in the more distant future—the common recognition of the H-bomb stalemate is to issue in anything of positive promise it will depend on the development of mutual understanding where it is badly needed.

Burma's Prime Minister, U Nu, doubtless had this need for greater understanding in mind when, addressing a mass meeting in Moscow, he said:

"Some Soviet books in the past have given us an incorrect picture of the great Soviet people. Some of your books sometimes blind us to the great virtues of the Soviet people which I have discovered in the course of our close contacts with them, and these books have sometimes compelled us to form undesirable opinions of you."

It is possible that the practice of the Russian Government in the coming months will be an improvement on Mr. Molotov's attitude at Geneva.

As opportunities for East-West contacts increase we shall doubtless learn that numerous illusions have been fostered in this country about Russia; but we shall also find that certain ideas held by the people of the Communist countries are much more "ingrown," more difficult to remove than we might have hoped.

★ ★

One of the things we are likely to discover is that many of the attitudes of mind that the West has found most difficult—that have sometimes suggested an incapacity to "play fair" according to our ideas—are not pieces of conscious Machiavellianism; they are attitudes that develop out of the Russian historic background, and what may appear to the West as a piece of calculated cunning may often be the result of an unavoidable obtuseness.

This particularly applies in regard to a number of important political words.

It is true that the consequences may be no less disconcerting, and the countering of the attitude of mind thus manifested is likely to be more and not less difficult than if conscious guile were involved.

It must be remembered that Russia has never known democracy and has never known freedom in the Western sense.

With the exception of Czechoslovakia, democracy and freedom are not conditions of living that have been eradicated by the Communists in countries where they were formerly prized.

The Russian revolution destroyed the old Russian class system—whether or not it substituted another class system in its place. It called the result democracy; and as it was something different from what they had known before, for the Russian peasants and workers it is democracy.

They are not measuring it against the systems that are called democratic in the West. Of these they know very little and have not much understanding of what they know. It is very unlikely that the average Russian has any real understanding of the "free elections" issue in regard to East Germany.

The question of freedom for them did not arise; and if in Czarist days it was possible for rebel spirits to advocate and act upon policies in opposition to their Government, while today such rebel spirits would have no chance at all, that is not because the Communist Government applies different standards today but merely that they are able to apply the traditional contempt for individual liberty with vastly greater efficiency.

In a "rationalised" industrial system based on principles of mass machine production applied in a land where freedom has never been an operative political conception, there are fewer interstices, fewer inefficiencies in the machinery of control where freedom may find an occasional chance through inadvertance.

With the opening up of greater possibility of personal contact we shall each get to understand better the different significance that different peoples attach to words in common use. As the process develops it may be hoped that Russians and other East European peoples will be disabused of some of their illusions.

But this process of "re-education" will not be by any means a one-way process.

Postponed to 1956

THE Geneva meeting has ended as we expected—indeed, exactly as we forecast. Nothing has been agreed upon, but there is to be another attempt, at a meeting to be held next year.

The year 1956 is likely to prove crucial: the Powers will either have accepted that the H-bomb stalemate has marked the end of power politics, or there will be a deterioration in international relationships and the statesmen will be at their wits' end and the world can look to disaster.

What has been happening at Geneva has been the acceptance of the *fact* of stalemate combined with a refusal to face its consequences.

If diplomacy can no longer be based on power politics it must clearly be based on something else.

So far the statesmen have refused to face this.

Whether anything can come from the 1956 Geneva meeting will depend on a readiness by all concerned to accept the finality of the threat of the H-bomb, and not assume that the other side must accept it while they themselves can continue to negotiate on the traditional assumptions.

A radical reconstruction of policies all round will be necessary if the spirit of Geneva is to help the world's salvation.

Problems of disarmament

AN example of the fundamentally different kind of thinking that is necessary is to be found in the question of disarmament.

For the USA pre-eminently, the main problem that has to be solved is not the difference between disarmament measures followed by control, and control measures followed by disarmament: it is—given that disarmament can be decided upon by any means—to what use is the USA to put the enormous resources and productive power that will be released.

Unless the US Government can face this problem squarely and develop the necessary changes in social and moral outlook any substantial disarmament would shake the American economy and place the whole "free world" in jeopardy.

This is the main problem that has to be solved in regard to disarmament.

If the USA could formulate and display its plans in this connection there would be less reason to assume that it will be content for the long-drawn-out dispute over controls versus cuts to go on for ever.

The death penalty

SEVEN years ago, when the House of Commons was discussing the Criminal Justice Bill, this country came as near as it has ever been to the abolition of capital punishment.

The House added to the Bill an amendment to suspend the use of the death penalty for five years. But after fierce controversy the House of Lords rejected this clause and no change was made in the law.

The controversy revealed, however, a serious concern in the country about the continued use of the extreme penalty and, as the Archbishop of Canterbury said in the House of Lords, many people were profoundly uneasy about the subject, and it would be a moral set-back to revert to the status quo.

The Home Secretary in the House of Commons similarly said "there had been revealed a considerable body of opinion which desires that some steps should be taken which will mark a definite amelioration of the law relating to the death penalty."

On the strength of this the Government proceeded to the appointment of a Royal Commission, whose terms of reference were to consider methods by which the use of capital punishment might be limited or modified. The Commission was expressly forbidden to discuss abolition.

Not a deterrent

IT is important to remember this background to the Royal Commission, which worked hard for four years, cost £23,000, and gathered masses of convincing evidence about the effect of the death penalty.

It found that there was no evidence anywhere that this penalty had a uniquely deterrent effect.

It made many recommendations designed to reduce the use of the death penalty: to leave to the jury in a murder trial the right to say that a convicted murderer should be sentenced to death or to life imprisonment; to raise the age of liability to suffer execution from 18 to 21; to relieve the survivor of a suicide pact from liability to suffer the death penalty; to provide for independent examination of any accused murderer about whose mentality any doubt arose; and to review the McNaghten Rules which provide the legal definition of insanity and have not been reviewed since they were propounded in 1843.

Here was hope that if the country would not accept abolition a few steps might be taken which would bring this nearer by reducing the number of executions.

The Commission itself said that if its proposals were not acceptable the only issue remaining would be whether or not the death penalty should be retained at all.

The end of half-measures

WHEN the House of Commons debated this report in February last, a suggestion that suspension of the death penalty should be tried, was resisted by the Home Secretary largely on the grounds that public opinion would not tolerate such a change in the law.

He announced that the Government would in due course make known its decisions about the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and this it has now done in no uncertain manner, for the Home Secretary stated last Thursday that all the main recommendations of the Report are to be rejected.

So much for public opinion.

The demand for modification and the uneasiness of seven years ago are forgotten; no account is to be taken of the genuine concern then expressed and recognised in high places; and the Commission which was appointed to meet that concern is ignored.

On the same day as this announcement was made the new Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment was launched. It has behind it many old campaigners and many fine new ones and its organisers are determined to remove the death penalty within two years.

They certainly strike at the right moment.

The rejection of the Royal Commission's Report may be disappointing to many people; but at least it clears the air.

Talk of half-measures is out of the way and once again the issue is a straight one. No compromise is left. The death penalty either remains or it must go completely.

Let us hope the new campaign for its speedy removal will have the support of every Peace News reader.

U Nu puts things straight

AS Peace News came off the press last week, with its criticism of the statement by the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, that there was an appropriate place for Russia, as an Asiatic Power, in the Bandung group of nations, U Nu, in Stockholm, was making a correction and rejecting the view he had seemed to be urging: "In my opinion Russia should not take part in such conferences" he said.

We welcome, and are a good deal relieved by this Stockholm statement.

S. Africa walks out

FOLLOWING the French on the Algerian issue, the South African representatives have walked out of UN.

They did so as a protest against the passing by the Special Political Committee of a resolution on South African racial policy.

Like the French in Algeria the South African Government holds that how it treats its native African population falls within its domestic jurisdiction and that UN is therefore debarred from interfering by the paragraph in Article 2 of the Charter, which reads:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the members to submit such matters of settlement under the present Charter."

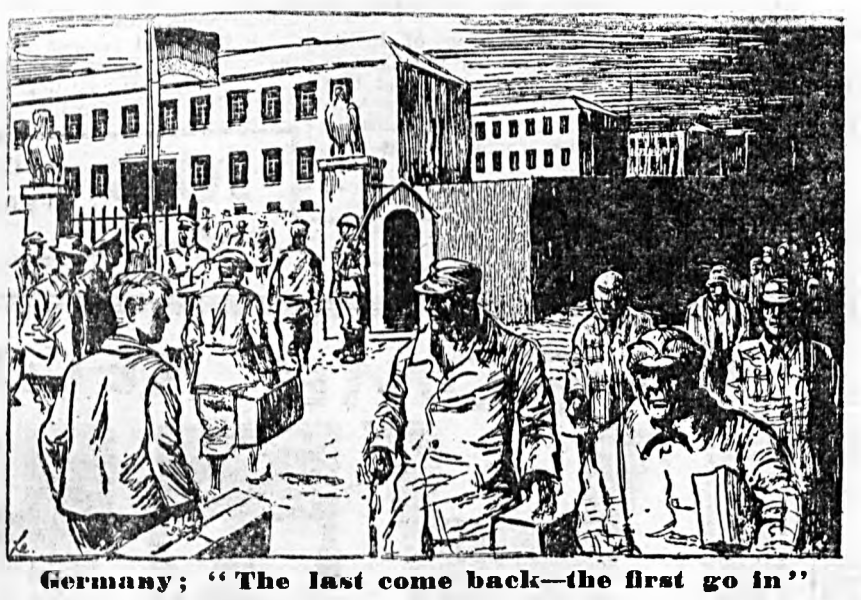
This, they hold, over-rides the section of Article 55 which requires that there shall be

"universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

That this contention is legally sound we have no doubt, but the basic assumption here is an evasion.

Who says that the affairs of Algeria are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the French Government? The French Government.

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Germany; "The last come back—the first go in"
—From SOS, November, 1955. Artist: G. A. Lehnert.

Britain's farewell to power

Letter from USA by A.J. Muste

THE prevailing pattern of the post-Korean War stalemate—expressing itself in a series of "truces" at critical dividing lines such as Korea itself, Indo-China, the Formosan waters and Germany—still holds.

But while at these points the lines hold, in a huge part of the earth all is in motion. This suddenly dynamic territory includes much of Africa, certainly all of it north of the equator; the Mediterranean Sea; the entire Middle East, Afghanistan, and South-east Asia —India, Burma, Singapore and Malaya, Indonesia.

One important illuminating way to see what is happening—and why—in this vast area is in terms of movement to fill a power vacuum.

The turmoil and tension which characterised the situation in Europe and in Eastern Asia and the Pacific immediately after World War II resulted from the struggle over what nation or bloc should occupy the vacuum created by the drastic defeat inflicted upon Germany and Japan respectively.

The "defeat" inflicted upon the "victor" in a war is likely not to be so obvious as that absorbed by the loser. It is also likely to show up only after a lapse of time.

What we are now witnessing is the fateful struggle over filling the power vacuum resulting from what World War II and related developments inflicted upon "victorious" France and Great Britain.

The sections of Africa and Asia which we have mentioned, especially the oil-soaked Middle East and North Africa, the lands bordering on the south and east of the strategically important Mediterranean, were the special preserve of Great Britain and France during the high tide of European imperialism and up to the beginning of World War II.

Looked at from the standpoint of power relationships the period since the close of that War has witnessed a steady and stupendous retreat of British and French power.

As a military power, Britain moved out of India and Burma and occupies an exposed and precarious position in Singapore and Malaya. The Suez evacuation meant that Great Britain was no longer able to maintain a genuine power stance in the Middle East and in Eygpt, the approach to the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and the interior of Africa on its eastern side.

This development had, of course, been foreshadowed at least as long ago as 1946-7 when the British Government informed Harry Truman that if Greece and Turkey—the Dardanelles, that is—were to be held, the US would have to do it.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the French retreat from the Middle East, partly because of British pressure right after World War II; the debacle in Indo-China, and the present crisis in which France has virtually to disarm herself in Europe in order to put down revolts in North Africa—all her "pomp of yesterday" or the day before, to the contrary notwithstanding.

So now the epochal struggle of Britain to keep Russia or anybody else for that matter out of Afghanistan, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Suez approach to India and Africa, is over.

The struggle as to who shall occupy the vacuum has clearly passed to the US and the Soviet bloc.

The emergence of Russia as a power which has to be "consulted" about arrangements in the Middle East, symbolised by the Czech arms deal with Egypt, has been startlingly sudden.

Which does not mean that it was a miracle or clever *tour de force*, but quite the opposite; that Soviet power was there and its bursting into the vacuum inevitable.

The acceptance, for the time being, of an avowed or implicit truce between the two dominant powers in Europe and the Far East resulted in the surplus power flowing, so to speak, into the Middle East.

Krushchev and Bulganin hardly had to make a conscious decision or record a motion in the minutes of the Politbureau in order to bring this about. Given the context of the power struggle, they could not have prevented it, if they had wanted to.

Despite the tension on the Israeli-Egypt border, I do not believe that large scale war is likely to break out in this period.

Neither the Soviet nor the American high command want it at this time and they will make the real decisions.

But this means that, unless another powerful factor enters into the situation, "co-existence" increasingly takes the form of surface peace based on an "arrangement," a tacit division of spheres of influence between these two powers.

Unfortunately, from my point of view, the "nations between" which might be a force for peace if they sought genuine independence on the basis of an essentially non-military organisation of their life, are again powerfully drawn now toward one and now toward another great centre of power, and seek to make arms deals now with one and now with the other.

This, I am reasonably assured, is a game at which the Big Powers will prove more adept.

Certainly the dream that a Third Force, *militarily based*, can develop to challenge the Big Two becomes more and more fantastic. Those who think in these terms, as well as the various kinds of "neutralists" are, at this juncture, feeling the very strong pull of the Kremlin.

This faces Mr. Dulles with the necessity of another "agonising reappraisal."

But it would do no harm if pacifists were to engage in the same. For the present is not a climate highly favourable to the growth of pacifism.

AMERICAN POLICY "SO FLEXIBLE"

NEW YORK

URGING that the USA take a more deliberate line of policy on matters relating to Africa, Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the Board of the International League for the Rights of Man, addressing a conference on "The US, the UN and Africa" here, said that present American policy was "now so flexible that nobody knew any more what it was meant to be.

"State Department thinking is conditioned by considerations of cold-war strategy, and in consequence the problems of Africa are ignored."

The Conference drew up some twenty recommendations which it voted to direct to the United States Mission to the UN.

Among these were:—

1. The establishment of target-dates for self-government for all Trust Territories.
2. Active support for the continuation of the Commission on the Racial situation in South Africa.
3. Reconsideration to its opposition to a debate on the question of Algeria in the UN.
4. Establishment of permanent UN Advisory Councils in each of the African Trust Territories analogous to the Council now sitting in Somalia.

Briefly

"You'll never get it," was Dr. J. Bronowski's reply to a question on the control of nuclear weapons through inspection at an Oxford Brains Trust last month. The Rev. Jack Boggis, another member of the panel said: "I'm absolutely convinced that we ought to refuse totally to manufacture atomic weapons in any form or for any purpose whatever. Dr. Maynard Smith, a geneticist agreed that a dramatic gesture of sincerity was needed. Dr. Bronowski and Dr. Doll both had qualms on the subject of unilateral rejection.

* * *

Some of the smaller harbours are being dredged in order to make them usable in the event of an atomic attack on Britain the House of Lords were told recently. Attention is also being given to the special problem of rehabilitating ports after attack.

* * *

Dr. Homi Bhabha, India's atomic scientist, told journalists at the UN on October 18 that there was little risk of non-atomic Powers turning to warlike purposes the nuclear know-how passed to them. It was a "long step from research reactors to atomic weapons," he said.

* * *

Dr. A. D. Belden will move "That the Hydrogen Bomb should be Banned" when Islington Debating Society meets in the Central Library, Holloway Rd., on November 21, at 8 p.m.

* * *

Sound films on Atoms—three 20 minutes, and twelve 10 minutes—may be borrowed for group showings free on request from Film Sections, USIS, 5 Grosvenor Sq., W.1.

* * *

A "Little Geneva," in the form of a study conference from December 27 to January 3 is being planned by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at their conference centre at Haverhill, Suffolk. Discussion will be led by representatives of "the four powers which really matter in the world: The USA, USSR, Asia and Africa." Three full-length film shows will supplement the lectures.

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Conditions in the world today were the result of the application of science to modern life: the scientist could not escape that responsibility, said Kathleen Lonsdale, speaking in London recently at the second of the Peace News lecture series.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCIENTIST

By Olwen Battersby

HOWEVER much we might desire it we could not call a halt, said Kathleen Lonsdale. "The world could go forwards or backwards, it could not stand still." The halting of science would not leave a stationary world, because the world was not stationary.

One hundred years ago in Europe three per cent of the children under 10 years of age died; two thirds of the population lived on coarse bread or offal, in insanitary houses, cold, poor, with little ventilation. One hundred years ago conditions in Europe resembled those of Asia today: population was stabilised by famine and disease. Did we really wish to abolish science and bring back the past, she asked.

The future too would depend largely on science; but even to the scientist it was unpredictable. Two thousand years ago the world population was one tenth of what it is today. There had been an increase of two per cent per century. Today, in China, there was an increase of two per cent per annum.

For the benefit of mankind

If two parents had two children, and they in their turn had two children—so that two were replaced by two on each occasion—population would be in some measure stabilised. But if two parents had four children, and they in their turn had four children, then in one century mankind would multiply itself three times over. In 300 years two parents would produce more than 1,000 descendents.

When we spoke of the potential or hidden supplies of the world, of possible new methods of production, these had to be related to a population which might have doubled—or more than doubled.

That was the background of the problem we faced.

What then was the duty of the scientist?

It was impossible to separate research for military purposes from research for industrial purposes. Research must go on, she affirmed.

But it was the responsibility of the scientist to see that the application of that research be put to the benefit of mankind; he must refuse to allow himself to become an accessory before the fact, when his skill, knowledge or training are desired for evil ends.

Scientists in general accepted this responsibility. Hence the creation of the Atomic Scientists' Association and the Society for Social Responsibility in Science. Hence, also, the acceptance by scientists in this country of legal limitations to avoid intolerable cruelty in the pursuit of their investigations, and the destruction of evidence obtained at Belsen and Buchenwald which might have proved harmful to humanity.

"If atom bombs are for deterrence, then surely the scientist must realise that we have got enough of them already," she continued, "and surely he must realise that the organisation of Civil Defence is a farce."

But scientists were not all pacifists. Many saw war, even suicidal war, as the alternative to injustice—to be justified in certain circumstances. They saw the alternatives as violence or slavery, forgetting that violence is slavery. We could only oppose this view if we have some other alternative to violence; some other means of overcoming injustice.

Our primary task was therefore to prevent injustice arising, to prevent it in a non-violent way, and to get across to our fellow-men the ways in which these injustices could be resolved.

One thing was certain, we could not maintain our present standard of living, which was 10 to 20 times as high as that of Asiatic



Prof. KATHLEEN LONSDALE, FRS

peoples. There was nothing new about the misery of Asia: what was new was her awareness of the injustice of that misery. To remove the injustice would mean sacrifice on the part of the West. If our needs were selfish ones, then there would be no alternative to violence.

It would mean also planning on a big scale. In the co-operative farm, mechanical pumps could irrigate an area in one hour which would otherwise take twelve men twelve hours. But large-scale planning implied a large bureaucracy; the more bureaucrats you had the more was the need for wide-spread individual responsibility and vigilance.

A second injustice was racial discrimination.

Scientists should insist on industrial research for the removal of poverty and injustice; in order also that the young scientist should not, for lack of alternatives, be forced into work for military purposes. They should form themselves into groups and thereby gain added strength—remembering, however, that no group could be strong unless each individual in that group, would, if called to act alone, act in accordance with the principles of that group.

We could force nobody to do what is right but ourselves, she concluded, but the need to be guided by conscience was never so great as today.

WE NEED EVERY PENNY



INFLATION is hitting us hard. Our rent has increased by 50 per cent since our old lease expired whilst the printing cost of Peace News has increased by £100 a year.

Postage and telephone charges are to rise. Office stationery costs and the price of paper are up.

We need every penny of the £2,000 we asked for in January. And we need it by December 31 if we are not to enter 1956 with a deficit that will mean raising the price of the paper.

If we are to keep the price of Peace News at 4d. next year we shall have to budget for £2,500 from this appeal in 1956—and we are not sure that this figure will guarantee the 4d. Peace News.

Please! A special effort in the next six weeks to bring £750 into the Peace News Fund.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since November 4: £15 0s. 10d.
Total since January 1, 1955: £1,228 10s. 1d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Mainly for work-campers . . .

The International Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN) may link up with the work-camp movement by recruiting volunteers for a work camp next year.

Work Camps in South East Asia are to be planned at a meeting in India in December.

Willy Begert, leader of the Pilot Work Camp for the Arab countries is travelling in various parts of West Africa compiling a report on work camp possibilities there.

Eve Banbury has designed for the International Voluntary Service for Peace, a card which says "A Merry Christmas" in 27 languages. This, and other attractive cards, may be obtained from IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

. . . and for COs

Three Conscientious Objectors Exemption Boards have been set up in the Central African Federation. The Federal Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, said that there had been "quite a lot of correspondence" from some of the churches about conscientious objectors doing peace-time military training. Provision had been made for COs to do training, but "if they can make out a real case, they won't do anything," he said.

A 21-year-old journalist has written the first book to be published in Finland dealing with conscientious objection. The title is "I Failed My Country," ("Jag Svek mitt Land"). No CO organisation exists in Finland (pop. four million). There are about 50 COs a year. A CO who agrees to wear a uniform serves five extra months, if he refuses to wear uniform, nine extra months.

AS THE TIMES SEES IT

The scab or the blackleg might be said to have let his comrades down in the bad old days of the struggle for recognition and a fair deal. But a worker has as much right to march out of step as have conscientious objectors who, to our credit as a people, are protected by law even at the height of the emotional stresses of a world war.

—*The Times, October* 20, 1955.

From The Editor's Notebook

SOMEONE REMEMBERED COs

"PACIFIST posy at foot of Memorial," the headline to a report in the Portsmouth Evening News, on November 9, has left pacifists in this stronghold of militarism guessing.

Here is the report as it appeared in the Portsmouth Evening News:

A small bunch of white hyacinths lay for two days among the wreaths at the foot of Portsmouth War Memorial.

But a typewritten message on a card attached to the flowers paid no tribute to war heroes.

It read: "In memory of all war-resisters who have died while courageously refusing to bear arms against their fellow-men. Humanity is on their side. May those who continue to resist war as conscientious objectors in all countries take heart from the courage of those great men. Wars will cease when men refuse to fight."

Mr. F. T. B. Fox, organiser of Portsmouth's British Legion Haig Fund, told the Evening News: "I am disgusted to think that anyone in a Service City like Portsmouth could have placed that message on the War Memorial. I am quite prepared to remove the message myself—unless somebody else beats me to it!"

When Mr. Fox visited the War Memorial at 8 a.m. today, the bunch of white hyacinths and the message had disappeared.

YOUTH CAMP—AND THIRD CAMP

A YOUTH Peace Camp in late June or early August is being planned by the Pacifist Youth Action Group of the Peace Pledge Union.

"The camp would provide a cheap yet purposeful holiday for young people from all over the country," writes Ian Dixon in a letter sent out with No. 3 of the PYAG Magazine.

Accommodation would be simple, in tents or barns.

I hope it will be well supported. Those interested should send their names to Ian Dixon at 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

. . . And young, or not, get a copy of the magazine from the same address. Here's a quote from it:

"*Enthusiasts for the Third Camp will find they were forestalled by the anonymous prophet who* (*in Isaiah* 19: 23) *called for Israel to be the third between the two great warring nations of Egypt and Assyria—a bridge and not a battlefield, to bring them together in peace and worship of the same God. What finer ideal could our country look for today?*"

H-BOMB IN DUBLIN COLLEGE

IT is from the PYAG magazine that I learn that Peter Haley-Dunne is keeping the PYAG flag flying at Trinity College, Dublin. He writes:

"The Peace News H-bomb leaflets which I left in the conversation room before a debate caused quite a stir. One member objected to their presence, but the Secretary said he did not think any objection could be raised to a leaflet which quotes such eminent authorities as The Times, Nehru, Einstein and Donald Soper."

Three letters from Peter started a lively controversy in the Evening Mail and Irish Times. "Two people replied disagreeing with me," he writes, "and I was about to reply when yet another correspondent wrote in to support me.

"The controversy then passed into abler hands than mine and was terminated by a letter from the Secretary of the International Club, stating the pacifist case logically and sympathetically, while showing that he like many others was not an absolute pacifist."

A BUST OF SCHWEITZER

WELL-KNOWN Hastings sculptor and artist, John Reid, has recently hit the news with a striking bust of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, carved from a portion of a copper beech tree grown in his own garden.

John Reid based his work on pictures of the Doctor, but was able to meet him personally during his recent visit to London, and there to put finishing touches to his work.

John Reid—who has exhibited at the Royal Academy on a number of occasions—is a supporter of the Hastings Peace Pledge Union Group and has designed two popular Christmas Cards published this year in the Endsleigh Cards series, issued from this office to raise funds for Peace News.

NO DRILL IN LEBANON

FROM the Lebanon I hear that Herber Dobbing, Principal of the Boys' School of Broumanna, run by the Quakers, was sorely pressed when the Lebanese Government passed a law last year insisting that all schools include military training in the programme, and that all Lebanese students take it on pain of being denied the national baccalaureate degree.

A correspondent writes: "Dobbing said 'No'; the principles of the school were opposed to military training, and under no circumstances short of outright confiscation (politically impossible) would the school's property or equipment be available for military education.

"The Government insisted, saying that it was really just physical training, nothing military after all. Dobbing said 'No.'

"Finally the Government said that he would have to release the boys for military training in the afternoon. Dobbing tried to figure out how he could make 'No' stick if he said it. He decided he couldn't, so he wisely agreed to take the three-quarters cake he had already won.

"Now the instructor waits outside the school gates and takes the budding soldiers, rain or shine, through the back streets of this mountain village for their military training."

AT MOUNT PLEASANT

D. E. WARD not only keeps the peace issue alive in his Union of Postal Workers' journal, the Mount Review (he writes about the TUC's "Ban the H-bomb" motion in the current issue), but he is selling copies of Peace News to a growing number of "regulars" at Mount Pleasant, London's vast sorting office.

In addition Peace News is included in the newspapers made available by the Mount Pleasant News Club.

Another piece of good news is the sale of 90 copies of Peace News by Cardiff Peace Pledge Union members and Young Friends at a UNA meeting in the Welsh capital addressed by Mrs. Pandit.

The same number of papers were sold up to the close of the first day of the Labour Party Conference at Margate—and trying to sell the paper there is about as easy as trying to sell copies to a crowd rushing to see a house on fire.

AM I A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR?

You are probably not a CO . . .

1. If you believe, deep down in your heart that there may well be some situations in which you would take part in a war.
2. If you believe that your nation should be prepared to fight, if necessary, for the things which it holds dear. If you would be willing to have a bomb dropped on Moscow or some other city in order to "save" your home town.
3. If you would be willing to join the army in case your country were invaded.
4. If you are willing to work in a job that helps the war effort directly—such as making guns or bombs.

You probably are a CO . . .

1. If deep down in your heart you believe that "all war is wrong;" and that there is a better way to settle disputes.
2. If you believe that your country should spend her resources in finding and going this "better way"—to the point where there is nothing left over for military preparations.
3. If you believe that a truly civilised country would refuse to drop any bomb on Moscow or on any other city—even in "self-defence."
4. If you would refuse to work in any job that contributes directly to a war effort (such as making weapons), even if such refusing would mean real sacrifice for you.

To be a CO you do not need . . .

1. To be perfect.
2. To know exactly what you would do if your family were attacked by a maniac—although you should have some kind of answer if you are asked this question.
3. To know what the Russian government would do if your government would quickly become pacifist. Nobody knows the correct answer to this question, as there has never been a large scale, long-time effort to try pacifism.
4. To renounce the whole idea of police force. One may observe that police always are supposed to be subject to law and to handle the individual criminal, instead of destroying other people and their property—and that policemen do not fight one another as armies do.

—*Abridged from the Gospel Messenger, USA.*

To tell children about race relations

"A CONCERTED national campaign," launched by experts from eight countries, is to follow up UNESCO's conference on the teaching of race to children. Held in Paris last September and briefly reported in Peace News, this conference aimed at combating racial discrimination in its early stages: at prevention rather than cure.

The campaign should be directed "not against racial discrimination, but towards racial tolerance," said Dr. Cyril Bibby, of the London University Institute of Education, and author of one of the two drafts on the subject adopted by the conference. Author of the second draft is Prof. Charles E. Hendry, of the University of Toronto School of Social work.

It is suggested by the organisers that each country should set up its own campaign organising committee consisting of representatives of voluntary organisations, educators and social scientists. Articles should be sent to the educational press, speakers should attend summer schools, seminars, and all associations concerned with teachers' training. National Committees should also prepare pamphlets and wall charts for schools.

Suggesting that UNESCO call on all member states at the next General Conference to take action, M. Louis François, the French delegate, said "The Director General should ask the states some time later what has been done and prod them into action. For the role of UNESCO is to provide the tools and act as the conscience of the nations."

Collect your

MILK BOTTLE TOPS FOR PEACE NEWS

Milk bottle tops (washed before storage) and silver paper and other foils (collected separately from milk tops) can be sold to raise funds for PEACE NEWS. Please send your collections to your nearest depot, as under:—

IRELAND: The Irish Pacifist Movement, 42 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
NORTH: Ivan Geffen, 18 Saltwell View, Gateshead-on-Tyne.
NORTH-WEST: Alec H. Spring, 30 Wellington Rd., Bury, Lancs.
MIDLANDS: P. J. Renwick, 65a Trafalgar Rd., Moseley, Birmingham 13.
SOUTH: Mrs. Frances Morgan, 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex. Roger Rawlinson, 67 Hollam Rd., Milton, Southsea.
N.W. LONDON: Mrs. D. Hawkins, 30 Hampstead Way, N.W.11.
BRISTOL and the WEST: Mrs. Lillian M. Dunning, 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze, Bristol.

Groups and readers are invited to start their own collecting schemes. More depots are needed. Details from The Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

FRANK LEES looks at the forthcoming conference on The Human Problems of Industrial Communities

Here's a job for British industry

A graduate of Oxford University in German and Russian, Frank Lees was a leading member of the team of Young British Quakers who were hosts to six young Russians in 1954. He is secretary of the Cardiff Peace Pledge Union Group. He has been working in the steel industry following a term of service as a conscientious objector with the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

Membership of the Conference on Industry is possible only through a firm, Trade Union, or nationalised industry. The Conference Secretary is Peter Parker, 48 Bryanston Sq., London, W.1.

"THE *Human Problems of Industrial Communities*; this is the title of a conference to be held next July in Oxford under the patronage of the Duke of Edinburgh. Its study will be led by eminent industrialists, with a strong emphasis on industrial development in the Commonwealth, and its membership will be drawn from men with responsible positions in the industries of Britain and the Commonwealth.

There are two main aspects to the problem to be studied.

1. The relationship between industrial and social structure. On the one hand "The motives for work, the satisfaction of those engaged in it, the acceptance of discipline and leadership are profoundly influenced by social and political traditions, by the pattern of family and community life. . . ." On the other, "Studies of social development have often emphasised the effects of industrialisation on the traditional life of the community. . . ."

2. The need for the work a man does to be fully satisfying: "How can we reconcile the benefits of industrial development with personal needs . . . ?" And "There is a vision of greater material prosperity, better health and education, less drudgery and more time to enjoy personal pursuits; but so often it is found that the material advantages of industrial progress do not fulfil automatically the social and spiritual needs of human nature."

The foundations of real peace

This whole subject is of such vital importance in the building of the foundations of real peace that it is impossible to do more than bring out one or two points.

Industrial and political democracy are closely linked. We are far from having achieved the first, either in private or state industry. And, more serious, it does not appear to be realised that it is extremely important that we should.

Neither workers generally nor the Trade Unions in particular are particularly concerned about it. There is a great deal of work to be done both in thinking out just what industrial democracy is and in persuading people that it is important.

Industry also has more obvious repercussions on political democracy.

Long hours of overtime or several nights a week at technical college prevent many people from giving the thought they should to public questions. And the present emphasis on personal advancement, noted by Gaitskell, has the same effect.

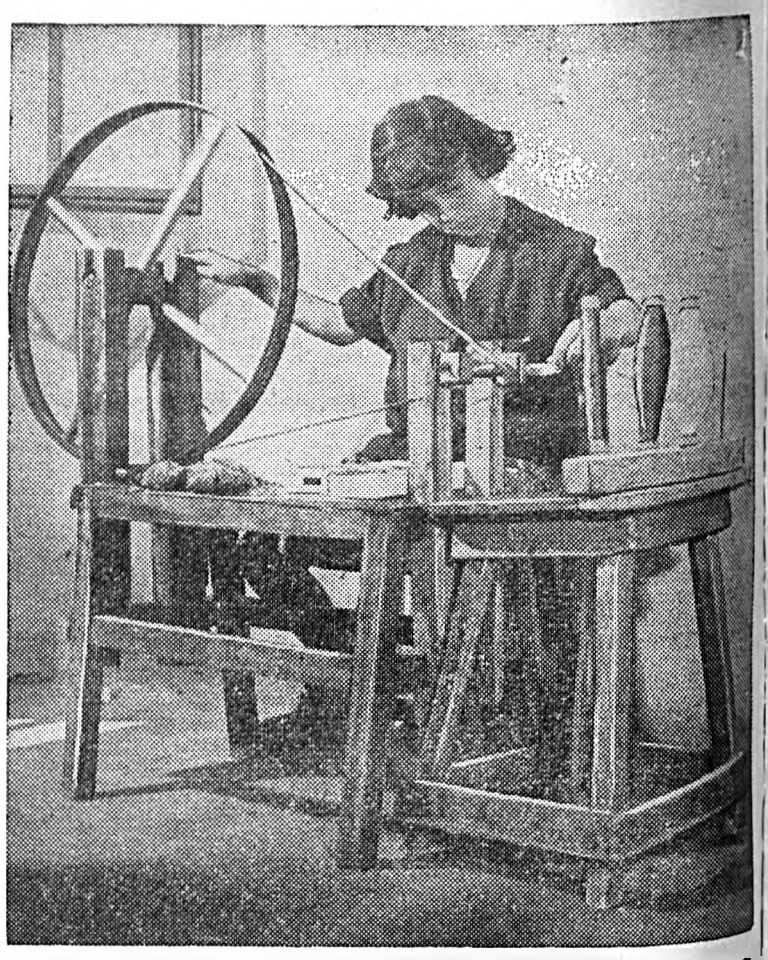
When we consider the political responsibilities of the British citizen and how the peoples of other countries so often look to us to do something, this is serious.

There is clearly much unrest in British industry. Men in it are not working together for a common objective. It is most commonly assumed that each is out for himself and advertisement reinforces this idea.

If it is assumed that management are in industry only for what they can get out of it, they are hardly in a position to make moral appeals about doing an honest day's work, closing the export gap, or practising wage restraint.

The appeal to men's worse motives is not only immoral, it does not even work very well.

● ON PAGE FIVE



A SCHOOL FOR ARAB REFUGEES

A nightmare of hatred and despair. A place where vengeance is the only hope. This is how the Gaza strip was described by Stephen Barber in the News Chronicle last Saturday.

There are a total of 906,000 Arab refugees under the care of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. Nearly half of them are children, who get elementary education in the 304 schools run by the Agency, but are reared in an atmosphere of hatred for Israel.

Shown here at a spinning wheel is one of hundreds of refugee girls at one of several centres in the Gaza strip area where training is given in weaving and similar crafts. The products are sold locally and to various Arab states.

UNATIONS

INTERVIEW WITH MARINE CONDRON

★ FROM PAGE ONE

He showed me his Ronson lighter, which was a presentation made to him before he left for Korea. He said that the prisoners were all surprised and thought that the Communists were so ignorant that they did not appreciate the use or the value of the things they had returned.

After all they had been told about Communists torturing prisoners to death they were surprised that no one was pushed around or roughly treated. They believed that this would come later.

They were marched to a camp for the night and were instructed to line up at the Cook House for their food. They were surprised and rather scornful because both the Chinese officers and men fell into the queue when they arrived at the cook house, and were issued with the same food that was given to the prisoners.

They attributed the behaviour of their captors to the fact that they must be members of some inferior unit, and believed that when they arrived at their destination they would then get the "works."

They marched on for a few days and finally reached their permanent camp. The camp consisted of a collection of huts. There was no barbed wire or fence of any kind round the camp. The prisoners were told that they were not to go beyond certain limits. There were a few camp guards and these were armed.

The prisoners were informed they would have to do their own fatigue duties which they could arrange among themselves, but that the cooking would be done for them. The food at first was very bad but the prisoners and the guards and officers in charge all had the same food. After a while the food improved.

The PoWs' attitude towards their captors changed. They no longer considered them ignorant and stupid. Their captors consistently treated them as friends, and as men who had been misinformed about why the war was being fought and about the whole situation generally. They made it quite clear that they personally had no quarrel with the prisoners individually, nor had they any intention of harming them. This prisoner-of-war told me that he began to be doubtful about the whole situation.

After a while classes were organised on Marxism and international affairs, and he and other prisoners attended these classes. They were encouraged to form groups for discussion, for sport, for singing, and other recreations. They were encouraged to write and draw, and the Chinese made wall newspapers out of these writings and drawings.

He told me that for the first time he began to think. From his earliest days he had always accepted things as he found them. When he finished work his interest had been girls, sport and the usual activities that young men indulged in in England.

He became more and more interested in the Chinese, and when the Armistice came and he was given the choice of either returning to England or staying in China, he elected to stay in China to learn about the ideas and life in a country which produced men with such unusual ideas as his captors'.

He is now at the University of Peking learning Chinese. This in itself is a tremendous task for him to have undertaken, as he left school when he was 14.

I asked him if he intended to remain in China and he said no, he would return to England when he was thoroughly familiar with what was happening in China.

I asked him if he was not afraid he would be treated as a deserter if he returned. He said he would take a chance on that. He believed that the British authorities and the British public had been misinformed about the situation in China and he felt it to be his duty to learn as much as possible about conditions in China and to pass on this information.

PEACE NEWS INTERVIEWS PoWs WHO CAME HOME

"I don't see that the man has done any harm"

INTERVIEWED at his home in King's Lynn recently, Mr. Raymon Fysh considered carefully the statements given by Marine Andrew Condron.

He said that he preferred not to make comments of a political nature, and he was not prepared to give an opinion on whether or not the British Army authorities presented a wrong view of the Korean situation. Neither had he ever considered whether the United Nations' intervention in Korea was justified or not.

Mr. Fysh stated that he had volunteered to go to Korea because he liked the army and he was keen on seeing a little more of the world before demobilising.

He confirmed Marine Condron's reports that prisoners in Korea were not badly treated. There were no atrocities and the hardships came mainly from bad weather, poor food at times and diseases prevalent in Korea.

He attended lectures similar to those described by Marine Condron, attendance at which was at first compulsory and later voluntary. He was never greatly interested in these lectures and when they became voluntary, elected to miss them, as to attend them meant going to the Chinese quarters of the camp.

Mr. Fysh said he preferred to avoid mixing with the Chinese as when he did so they gave him cigarettes and food and he disliked taking what he could not share with his fellow prisoners.

Mr. Fysh had known Condron. He met him for a brief instant when he passed through Condron's camp just prior to his (Fysh's) release.

He formed a good opinion of Condron whom he describes as "a nice chap." He sees no reason why he should not be allowed to return home.

He feels that he could not be punished unless there was proof that he had disclosed military information or had proved disloyal to his country in some other way. From the little he knew of Condron, he did not think him the type who would "squeal."

Mr. Fysh feels hesitant about condemning a man who has, on the face of it, remained behind merely to satisfy his curiosity and settle his thoughts as regards Communism and the Communist way of life.

"No business in Korea"

Mr. Seymour was interviewed separately at his home in Downham, Norfolk. His views tallied very much with those of Mr. Fysh.

Mr. Seymour was not a volunteer as Mr. Fysh was, but was ordered back into the army as he had not yet served his call-up time. He had previously been a PoW in Germany during the second world war.

He says the army put no case to him for going to war.

He did not know he was going to Korea until two days before leaving England.

The only lectures received on the ship en route had dealt with fighting tactics and the sort of warfare employed by the enemy.

Mr. Seymour added that although the British Army authorities presented no view of the Korean situation, his own feelings and those of his fellow soldiers were "that they had no business in Korea and as the Americans had started the war, they should finish it on their own."

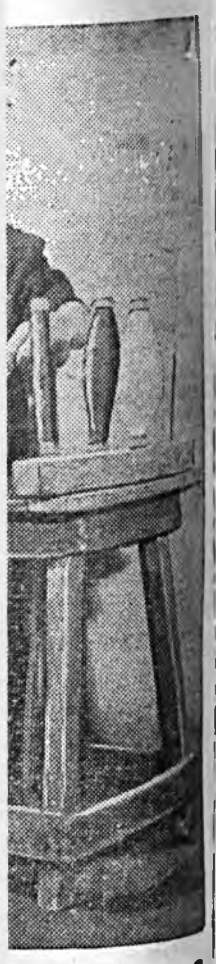
Mr. Seymour stated that conditions in his camp were good considering everything. Nobody was ill-treated and the only crime that drew severe punishment was attempting to escape.

He said one man who had organised escapes was placed in solitary confinement under rather severe conditions.

Although the food was bad at times they received the same as the Chinese.

Mr. Seymour thought that the prisoners fared worse than their captors on the food received mainly because it was not the "type" of food they were accustomed to.

In regard to Condron, Mr. Seymour holds the same views as Mr. Fysh. "I don't see that the man has done any harm," he said.



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In the authentic GI manner

RADIO by Joseph Fleming

LISTENING to Hessell Tiltman's survey, "How New is New Japan" (*Third*), it was useful to remember he is the special writer on Japanese affairs to the Washington Post.

". . . the most benevolent occupation in military history ended after having presented Japan with a democratic Constitution, reduced the Emperor to man-size, disarmed the nation, emancipated its women, instituted universal suffrage, decentralised the police, released the Communists, purged the warmongers . . . legalised trade unions, restored the freedom of the Press. . . ." (And they all lived happily ever after).

He proved the Americans had "disarmed the nation" by the slight afterthought: "The former Imperial Forces . . . have been replaced by the troops of the Self-Defence Forces (what a disarming title!) which wave and whistle to pretty girls in the authentic GI manner."

Before we accept at face value "the most benevolent occupation in military history ended . . ." we quote Scott Nearing in the American "Monthly Review" as follows:—

"One part of the Washington drive to encircle, constrict, and destroy the nations busy with socialist construction, was the Japanese Treaty of 1951. The treaty opened the way for permanent military occupation of Japan by the United States armed forces. . . ."

We agree with Charles Judd, who in "At Home and Abroad" (*Home*), suggested:—

"The talks between the Ambassadors of the US and China were more important than those which took place in Geneva between the Foreign Secretaries of the four Great Powers."

Mr. Chou En-lai's remark: "It was not in the real interests of strengthening the UN that my Government should be excluded" is not only a fact, but also a warning.

Those who "control" UNO should remember that, like the League of Nations, the new world organisation will last only to the extent of their victims' patience.

Bandung was a pointer.

That "Mr. Chou En-lai told us emphatically he fully supported UNO's purposes, and his Government was prepared to wait patiently for its admission" must not be interpreted as the gesture of a suppliant, cap in hand, soliciting favours.

One does not beg for one's rights.

In "The News" (*Home*), we heard that the new Merchant Adventurers—the Army League—propose the formation of an African army of two or three divisions.

Well, well! We've hunted them, we've beaten them, we've shot them, we've herded and transported them into slavery, we've thrown them overboard during voyages when supplies were short.

Having repented, we now propose to treat them as Christians and instruct them in the art of war "to relieve our army in trouble spots such as the Middle East and Malaya."

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday Nov. 19th
King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.
(Near Bond St. Tube)
Discourse by
J. B. Coates "PERSONALISM & PEACE"

Which Party?

IN Peace News of July 1, you drew attention to the fact that the former anti-militarist tradition of the Labour Party "is not operative today: it supports policies in this field that are indistinguishable from those of the Conservatives." You pointed out that the acceptance of the H-bomb means the deliberate acceptance of the method of indiscriminate slaughter—of children as well as adults.

At Margate last month, the hopes of peace lovers, who had waited for many years for some sign of repentance on the part of Labour leaders were quenched. It was confirmed that Labour policy still includes the use of the A- and H-bombs (indiscriminate slaughter of children), conscription, the revival of the German army and the continuance of American bombers on our shores. The man who gave us the biggest arms budget on record (and is proud of it) was acclaimed as a future leader of the party.

The conclusion is inescapable that pacifists and other peace lovers can no longer conscientiously support the Labour Party. Unless they are to remain disfranchised and ineffective, they have to face the difficult task of establishing a new party. I welcome, therefore, the formation of the Fellowship Party and urge pacifists and others who are opposed to the wholesale slaughter of children—especially disillusioned members of the Labour Party—to join the Fellowship Party and enable it to challenge the forces of evil.

F. O'HANLON.

St. Michael's,
Hayling Rise, Worthing.

Self-determination

COMMUNISTS, Mr. Pitter (Peace News, November 4) says, profess to believe in "the right of all peoples to self-determination," but this is just their cunning. If they were sincere they would welcome free elections in Eastern Germany and in all the Peoples' Democracies. The reason they do not is that the great majority of people in Communist countries find the conditions of life "unbearable" and if they had the opportunity would overthrow the Communist regimes. Millions of people have fled, and continue to flee, from those countries simply because they can no longer endure their misery.

I suggest first of all that the significance of the flight of these people to the "free world" cannot be decided until we know what proportion of them are (a) persons of anti-social or criminal tendencies; (b) people who hate a regime that has deprived them of wealth and privilege, and (c) the kind of human beings who cannot adapt themselves to a social order which requires them to subordinate their personal interests and ambitions to the common good.

There is, at any rate, an alternative to Mr. Pitter's explanation of the cautious attitude of Communists towards free elections.

The Communists may be villains but they are not fools. They have a well-founded suspicion that the demand for free elections and self-determination for all peoples coming from the imperialist nations of the West which have been notoriously unwilling to give self-determination to their own colonial peoples is merely political opportunism. It suits the Western governments just now to urge the holding of free elections in Germany because they think the renascent forces of reaction in the Western zone and the relatively low standard of living in the Democratic Republic will cause the German people to overthrow the Communist regime.

I should like to suggest to Mr. Pitter that the Communists might counter his accusation of insincerity and bad faith by pointing out that while the statesmen of America and Britain are ostensibly seeking to relax international tensions, military leaders in America and Britain are breathing out threatenings and slaughter and demanding still more hydrogen bombs; and without a word of rebuke from their governments.

To the allegation that the conditions of life in Communist countries are unbearable, the Communists might reply that in many parts of the "free world" there is misery, hunger, and racial oppression. They might add that in Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe millions of people have been delivered from the unbearable conditions they had to endure under their former rulers.

There is no end to the possibilities of mutual recrimination and charges of insincerity when once the seeds of suspicion have been well and truly sown. It is to root out those seeds and to plant instead mutual trust and good will that the World Peace Council exists.

(Rev.) KENNETH RAWLINGS.

St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes.

INDUSTRY

FROM PAGE FOUR

Men, though not saints, do to some extent need to work for something outside themselves.

There is a piece of work which British industry can be called on to do—to help in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease throughout the world. If this idea were to gain ground we might both have a new spirit in industry and might as a nation fulfil our duty to others less fortunate.

Perhaps more fundamental still is the fact that many of the jobs in industry are unsatisfying.

It is easy to make wild statements about this. It is only too clear that many people apparently prefer the monotonous jobs. Though often this is little more than acquiescence in the general assumption that what matters is the money and there is probably a deeper discontent.

We are far from the joy in work of which William Morris spoke so passionately.

One result of this is that many long for excitement. And this only too often means a nostalgic return to the comradeship and adventure of wartime. It is a deep challenge to pacifists to create a way of life which offers equal comradeship, equal adventure. The point is forcibly put in William James's THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR.

When most of the world is hurrying to industrialise, because industry means power, it is good that a group of men should be meeting to consider the implications of this and the means of making industry man's servant, not his master.

LETTERS

Pacifists and politics

AT a recent meeting the statement was made that Dick Sheppard, founder of the Peace Pledge Union, did not favour political action. Dick Sheppard is dead and no one would dare to say how he would view the world today. All the same there is ample evidence that the early founders of the PPU believed in a policy and direct political action.

From the first office of the PPU, at 96 Regent St., came a pamphlet entitled "100,000 say No; Aldous Huxley and Dick Sheppard Talk about Pacifism."

The following is word for word from the pamphlet:—

QUESTION. Do you mean to go into politics?

ANSWER. At present, except in so far as I have indicated (*This is in a previous answer about support in the House of Commons, and Dick had said he was supported by some MPs. Presumably these would include G. Lansbury and James Hudson.*—A. L.), the only definite proposal is that a pacifist candidate should put up at some suitable by-election. And just imagine what would happen if we got, say, a million voters actively insisting that they will never take part in any war. The Government would have to begin to take notice. (*The reference to a million voters can only mean contesting a General Election.*—*A. L.*)

QUESTION. Don't your theories tend to destroy the modern economic system?

ANSWER. The great mistake is to suppose that there is a single cause for any particular thing and that by removing that single cause, you can change the state. A complex condition has a multiplicity of causes and can only be changed by a simultaneous attack on all the causes. The causes of war are economic, political, psychological. If one wants to get rid of war one must go for all these causes at once.

QUESTION. Can the movement ever be popular?

ANSWER. Why not? Humanity would be thankful beyond words to get out of its present fix. As an end pacifism is popular already. The thing that is unpopular at present is the means to peace. We have got to take risks and make certain sacrifices. For example, we have got to take the risk of going out for total disarmament. As a country and as individuals we have not been prepared to make the smallest sacrifice for peace. We all passionately desire peace but we have never been willing to give anything for it.

ALBERT LEAPER.
22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

OXFORD: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 32 St. Giles. Concert and social. Proceeds to H.Q. PPU.

Sunday, November 20

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; Co-op Hall, Kingston Square. George Craddock, MP, "Conscription." Adm. 6d. PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; Kings Weigh Ho., Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by J. B. Coates, "Personalism and Peace." Religion Commission, PPU.

SOUTHEND: 8.15 p.m.; Labour Institute, 10 Boston Ave. Leslie Hale, MP. "War on Want." FoR.

Tuesday, November 22

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 36 Holloway Head. Members Mtg. Stuart Morris, PPU.

LOUGHTON: 8 p.m.; Union Ch. High Rd. John Ferguson, M.A., B.D., "Citizens' Enquiry." United Nations Assoc.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., East Sheen. Eric Fenner, "The Fellowship Party, its Principles and Aims." PPU.

Wednesday, November 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 1 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Mr. S. A. Kyprianou, "The Future of Cyprus." WIL.

LONDON, E.C.2: 1.15 p.m.; Kenneth Ingram (Vice-Chairman, N.P.C.), "Can War be Renounced Entirely?—the view of a Christian non-pacifist." National Peace Council.

Thursday, November 24

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.; 120 Heath St. N.W.3. Ian Dixon, "A Young Man Looks at Pacifism and Politics." PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Hugh Schonfield, "Commonwealth of World Citizens." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., A. W. Uloth, "Non-violence in Aspects of Non-Violence, 2. History." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON, W.11: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Pembridge Villas. John Robinson on East-West Work Camp held in Warsaw, August 1955. IVSP.

Friday, November 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Play reading. Central London PPU.

Saturday, November 26

CARDIFF: 3 p.m.; Cory Hall. "End Conscription Now" Conference. Stuart Morris, D. R. Thomas, Gwynfor Evans, R. J. Jones. Posters, tickets, leaflets from 2 Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

LEWES: 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Sybil Morrison, "The Devil's Paradox." Chair. Minnie Pallister. Tea 4.30. p.m. 5.15 p.m.; Questions and discussion, Chair. Clarence Tritton. Bring and buy stall. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: Peace News Bazaar. See advertisement, page 6.

Friday, December 2

BUCKHURST HILL: 8 p.m.; Buckhurst Hill Cong. Ch., Palmerston Rd. Rev. Claude Coltman, M.A., B.Litt., and Rev. Harold E. Johnson, B.D., "Is It Peace?" FoR.

Sunday, December 4

CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m.; Speakers Ground. S. Sapsed, G. Onion, J. Lyne. PPU.

ELTHAM: 11 a.m.; Eltham Green Methodist Ch. Westhorne Ave. Service conducted and sermon (Our need for Love) by Ronald Mallone, B.A.

Friday, December 9

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Christmas Carol concert, given by the London International Choir. Adm. free. Proceeds shared by the Choir and Peace News.

Sunday, December 11

BURNT ASH: 11 a.m.; Burnt Ash Methodist Ch. Parade service conducted and sermon (Soldiers of Christ) by Ronald Mallone, B.A.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

CHINA—"Brains Trust," Tuesday, November 22, 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. Panel: Mrs. Lena Jeger, MP, Charles W. Judd, H. J. Collar, G. H. Doughty. Adm. free. National Peace Council, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE SPEAKS on the American Film; Chris Brunel on British Films; African on "African and Asian Films"; Percy Belcher on TV; Maurice Goldsmith on "Science in Films"; Children's Films; "Films and TV for Peace" Conference, December 4. Details: 166 Kew Road, Richmond, Surrey.

KINGS WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St. Nr. Bond St. Tube. "Reason for our Hope." Sunday, 6.30 p.m.; Rev McEwan Lawson, M.A., B.D.

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THE NEXT STEP in Cyprus—shall Cyprus be free? Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, 2.30 p.m.—7 p.m., Sunday, November 20. Lena Jeger, MP, and others. Movement for Colonial Freedom.

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LITERATURE

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

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PART-TIME WORK wanted (mid-December or later) by Pacifist-vegetarian (54), married. Cottage or caravan accommodation and small salary required. Wife recovering from illness needs rural environment. Anything considered. Box 674.

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAmford Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

Geneva: Time not on our side

FROM PAGE ONE

the armed forces of the Communist countries by 1960.

Not only is the USSR stronger militarily, she is stronger economically. I heard the Secretary of the Scots TUC delegation just back from Russia say last week that the motor works at Gorki can now turn out 1,000 motor vehicles a day!

And Mr. Strauss of the American Atomic Energy Authority has said that between 1950 and 1960 Russia will turn out twice as many scientists and technicians as the USA.

So if Mr. Macmillan comes along to tell us "Just wait patiently we will be able to argue from strength with Mr. Molotov in 1960 and get free elections and a United Germany," then nobody who knows the facts will believe him."

Long before 1960 intelligent Germans will be asking themselves whether the West can really help them to get a United Germany and whether it would not be better to do a deal with the USSR.

That is what Mr. Walter Lippman is now telling the readers of the New York Herald Tribune, and that is no doubt what the NATO authorities and the diplomats of all the Western countries must be discussing among themselves.

Mr. Macmillan and Sir Anthony Eden must be painfully aware of these possibilities too.

Sir Winston Churchill said in one of his last speeches in the House that there was no reason for believing that time was on our side. Nor is it.

That is why Mr. Macmillan has been foolish at Geneva in not treating seriously the proposals for the military neutralisation of Germany that Mr. Molotov has been advocating. Does the situation in North Africa mean that the French can negotiate from strength? Can we say we can now negotiate from strength in the Middle East? And is Britain in a strong enough economic situation to step up her expenditure on armaments and go in for a still bigger arms bill in the hope that this will win us the arms race if it can be won?

No, Mr. Macmillan cannot come home in triumph from Geneva. The West with all the money it has spent on rearmament and NATO and the American bases and the rest of it has not been able to demand unconditional surrender from Mr. Molotov. There is not the slightest reason for believing that it will be able to do so at Geneva either in 1960 or 1970. And Britain will have to cut, not increase, her expenditure on defence or go bankrupt long before then.

"Negotiate from Strength" is as stupid a policy as "Unconditional surrender."

That is the clear, unmistakable lesson to be drawn from the latest Geneva failure to agree about the future of Germany and disarmament.

THE GREATER GOOD

West Germany's first 101 soldiers, 95 officers and six non-commissioned officers, were invested in their ranks by Herr Blank, Defence Minister, at a 45-minute ceremony yesterday . . . Herr Blank said the ceremony was the first visible expression of West Germany's intention to undertake equal responsibility with equal rights in the Western Community; they should adopt Scharnhorst's dictum that army tradition should be to march in the van of progress.

—Daily Telegraph, November 14, 1955.

The rearming of Western Germany is a responsibility which we must for urgent reasons accept. There is a graver threat hanging over us than that of jackboots.

—Daily Telegraph Editorial, November 14, 1955.

THAT memories are short has been so often said that it has become a cliché, and it is, perhaps, more likely that the Daily Telegraph leader-writer does not so much suffer from a short memory, as from indoctrination of a particular idea.

The "jackboot," which once was the symbol of Prussian militarism, and later of Hitler barbarism, is now, according not only to the Daily Telegraph but to leading Western statesmen, a lesser evil than the "Hammer and Sickle," against which the West are prepared to use even more appalling methods than those symbolised by "jackboots."

Had those who in 1945 grimly celebrated the triumph of the so-called free world over Fascist totalitarianism been told that in ten years Germany would be armed by the "free world," and integrated into a military alliance with "free world" they would certainly have dismissed it as the horrid meanderings of a lunatic.

Yet it now appears that the "jackboot" has lost its terror, and the dread of Russia and of the spread of Communism dominates the minds of ordinary reasonable people to a point where memory of the past does in fact fail, and nothing is left but the overwhelming and inescapable emotion of fear.

★

At a pacifist meeting recently one of the questions asked of the speakers by an eminent local supporter of Civil Defence, a man who had shouldered a pike in the Home Guard and been prepared to defend his country by any means against the march of the "jackboots," was: "But surely you wouldn't allow the Russians to invade this country and do nothing to prevent them?"

All his work in the Home Guard, all his experience of CD was turned now, not to remembering why he had joined in these activities, but to perpetuating them for all time against another enemy. The same arguments, the same solution, the same methods, the same fears, were all expounded by someone who had fought against the "jackboots," but now welcomed their march along with him in a different direction.

The "van of progress," so far as the army is concerned is, naturally, effective weapons, and both the East and the West have decided that the most effective are those which if used, must destroy us all.

Yet, still, the "man-in-the-street" is worried more about a mythical invasion than about probable annihilation, not recognising that the Communist invasion began a long time ago and that military methods, far from defeating it, have re-inforced it and consolidated it, not only in Germany, but in many parts of the world.

★

This continued reliance upon armaments as a means of defence against the power of an idea has led us to take a stand which is irrational, immoral and tragic. It is apparent that no lesson has been learned either from the vain result of the "war to end wars," or the "war to defeat German aggression," and that any plan, even one which would destroy the human race, is more acceptable to the ordinary man and woman than the obvious solution, the renunciation of the war method.

The fear of invasion dominates their minds, and they forget that the country they now fear might dread invasion a great deal more, since they have known it, and known it from those very "jackboots," which are now with bitter cynicism looked upon as a "lesser evil."

Only when the fallacy that it is possible to be confronted with a choice only of two evils has been exploded will sanity come to the world. Those who believe in the power of good, and millions do, are denying its existence by accepting as basic the necessity for making a choice only from evils.

Invasion belongs to war, not war to invasion; the choice, not the lesser evil, but the greater good, the choice of war renunciation awaits men and women of commonsense and goodwill.

BEHIND THE NEWS FROM PAGE TWO

The Church, the Crown, and War

The vast majority of the Algerian people hold no such view; and although France has reached this unilateral decision that Algeria is part of France and registers it by providing for Algerian representation in the French Parliament, this is only on the asumption that an Algerian's vote shall never be equal to the vote of a Frenchman.

The French would drop the conception the moment an Algerian exercised as much power with his vote as a Frenchman with his.

There would be all the difference in the world between France having a dominant influence over the affairs of Algeria, and Algeria having a perceptible influence in the affairs of France.

The departure of South Africa from UN, however, would be of much less consequence than the departure of France. For all its imperialist cruelties and crimes, France has a good deal to offer to the world in its international council. Whereas a Government of the South African type has nothing to offer that is of any value, whatever it may be able to bring to NATO.

Hiding evil deeds

WHATEVER THE imperialist powers may do about it, the Asian Governments will not permit Article 55 to be ignored. At some time UN will have to seek to reconcile the contradiction in the Charter which makes nonsense of this passage dealing with human rights if it is not to sacrifice what moral authority it has.

It might be decided that intervention only takes place when there is decision and does not preclude discussion.

The important thing today is to register world opinion on and display the facts whenever human rights are ignored.

That the conditions in South Africa should be discussed by UN is much more important than that a decision should be reached upon them.

It is to be observed that neither South Africa nor France welcome the opportunity to justifiy their policies.

They love darkness because their deeds are evil.

Disestablishment

THE relationship of the Church of England to the State—raised in connection with Princess Margaret's recent decision—was the subject of a sermon last Sunday by Canon Lewis Lloyd in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Not since the days of the Life and Liberty Movement has a similar challenge been given. The demands made then by members of the Church for disestablishment were dropped when the Church was given the power to set up its own Assembly and table measures dealing with its own affairs in the House of Commons.

But the reforms carried out have left untouched the position of the Sovereign as Supreme Governor of the Church of England and the right of the Crown to nominate to vacant bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices.

In effect this means that no clergyman known to be pacifist would normally be appointed by the Crown even if he was otherwise well qualified and that there is bound to be an absence of pacifist witness among the leaders of the Church of England.

Pronouncements on doctrine or changes in Canon Law have remained within the Province of the Convocations of Canterbury and York but the approval of Parliament is still necessary for any legal change in the Prayer Book, for instance, though the procedure for obtaining this has been made easier.

The position of the Sovereign as Supreme Governor is little more than a titular one except in so far as Crown patronage and appointments are concerned, and these are normally exercised by the Prime Minister through his patronage secretary.

But as has been previously pointed out in Peace News, the Sovereign would be placed in an impossible position if the Church of England should—as many believe it should—call upon all its members to renounce war. How could the royal assent then be given to measures concerned with war preparation or with a declaration of war?

In view of recent pronouncements many have wondered why the leaders of the Church should be more ready to make unequivocal pronouncements about remarriage after divorce than they are about war. The "lesser evil" plea, which at least recognises that it is impossible to isolate a given situation from the past, is urged in the latter but ignored in the former.

But even if the Church was disestablished the difficulty would still remain so long as the Sovereign was a member of the Church of England and expected to be loyal by its practice, for Princess Margaret based her decision on loyalty to what she, as a member, regarded as the teaching of the Church on remarriage after divorce.

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FOR CHURCH PEACE GROUPS

"Is it Peace?" is the title of a new leaflet for distribution to Church groups prepared by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James St., W.C.1.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

FROM PAGE ONE

Gilbert Harding told the audience: "You are responsible. We elect the government in moments of acumen and amnesia. Go to your MPs and ask for abolition for at least three years."

Canon John Collins, quoting "Love your enemies" and "Do good to them that persecute you," said, "A Christian believes in the redemptive power of love." It was inconceivable that Christ would agree to the death of a murderer.

A letter was read from **Charlie Chaplin,** who wrote:

"Capital punishment is obsolete and barbaric and achieves nothing. It is as outmoded as the methods taken by nations to settle their differences by war."

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall said the death penalty was morally wrong and socially unnecessary.

Reginald Paget declared, "Certainty is God's and not mankind's. We can only judge by probability and have no right to make an irrevocable decision." Could you explain to a murderess's little boy why you were killing his mother?

The meeting passed a resolution pledging "its support to an intensive campaign throughout the country until abolition has been achieved."

A distinguished platform included, **Frank Owen, Augustus John, Vicky, Kingsley Martin, Dr. Albert Belden, Richard Stokes, MP, Sybil Morrison, James Hudson, Frank Dawtry, C. Day Lewis,** and **Jacquetta Hawkes.**

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

The Christmas Book number of Peace News will appear next week.

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Fulham Town Hall, Broadway, S.W.6

Friday, 25th November at 7.30 p.m.

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Friday, November 18th at 7.30 p.m.

HALLAM TENNYSON

Secretary, Friends' East-West Relations Committee. Author of "Tito Lifts the Curtain" and "Saint on the March."

"East and West: the way to reconciliation"

followed by an open discussion. All welcome.

(Refreshments from 7 p.m.)

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